THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 161 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • JULY 7, 1945 NUMBER 1

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Published weekly and copyright, 1945, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 318 Kellogg Building.

The Shape of Things

ON BOTH OKINAWA AND LUZON ORGANIZED resistance has been declared at an end, and we anticipate a protracted operational pause in the grand strategic advance in the Pacific. There will of course be no pause in Allied activity on the sea, on the ground, or in the air; but the main thrust toward Tokyo must rest temporarily while the huge job of building up the pressure of troops and supplies for the next offensive phase is carried out. Unofficial hints, as well as guarded official statements, indicate that this next operation will be carried out on such a scale and in such a fashion as to astonish the world. The navy will have the three big advanced staging areas of Okinawa, Luzon, and Guam on which to draw; and doubtless these islands are already being weighted down with men and material, as England was before the invasion of the Continent. Combat divisions from Europe are now being redeployed to the Far East, either through the United States or direct from Marseilles. Three armies are already in the Pacific under General MacArthur's overall ground command—General Krueger's Sixth, General Eichelberger's Eighth, and General Stilwell's Tenth. These armies are all pretty battle-wise and have experienced commanders; the selection of General Stilwell to head the Tenth after the tragic death of General Buckner on Okinawa nearly at the end of the battle is a particularly happy circumstance, removing our outstanding Far Eastern commander from his training job in the United States and putting him in position to apply his impressive knowledge and skill to the job of defeating the Japanese on their own ground. In addition, the six veteran divisions of the Marine Corps will undoubtedly be restored to combat strength and fitness in time to spearhead the assault. It is inconceivable that the Japanese can withstand the massive power being readied against them.

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AT HIS LAST PRESS CONFERENCE IN PARIS General Eisenhower urged the correspondents to study carefully one thing—"the value of integrated tactical power in war." Explaining, he said: "When you put sea, ground, and air power together, the result you get is not the sum of their separate powers. You multiply their power rather than add." Already this multiplication of power is evident in the Pacific, where the integration of the three arms has been steadily on the increase. Sea power brought the Marines to Iwo, air power protected them, and their ground power won the island; so that air power could in turn be conserved there when the B-29's faltered on the long return from Japan. The fast carrier task force ranged off Okinawa as a barrier, while "jeep" (escort) carriers gave close-in air support to

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the gound forces until land-based planes could use the airstrips which were the ground forces' first objectives. The clearance of Okinawa means that B-29's can soon begin comparatively close-range bombing of Japan's secondary targets, the primary targets having already been largely written off by Marianas-based attacks; the way is also open for attacks on the 20 per cent of enemy industry in Manchuria, and for aerial blockade of the Tsushima Straits between Korea and Kyushu-Honshu—a blockade which can seriously interfere with Japanese war efficiency. All this is causing Japan to "bleed internally," in the phrase of a B-29 group commander; and that internal bleeding will show itself in the form of fewer casualties among American ground forces when the final battles are joined.

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THE SIMLA CONFERENCE INCHES FORWARD toward a goal still far distant—full and responsible self-government for India. It is a hopeful sign that at the first meeting between the Indian leaders and Lord Wavell a general agreement was expressed on the proposed plans for the Indianization of the Viceroy's Council. It would seem to indicate that Congress and Moslem League leaders as well as leaders of other Indian groups are ready to accept the British proposals in good faith rather than to find reasons for rejecting an offer which they viewed with suspicion. Naturally the long-standing differences between the Congress and Moslem League leaders are not going to be resolved overnight. Already the Congress is challenging the proposal that the League should name *all* the Moslems on the Viceroy's Council. But if the desire for a unified Indian solution is genuine, it is hard to believe that this clash will prove fatal. To American liberals the advance represented by any accord reached at Simla may appear infinitesimal. The economic, social, and political tasks confronting the Indian leaders are of mountainous proportions. Nor is it safe to believe that British imperialists—economic as well as political—have decided to liquidate all their interests in India. Certainly, the British at San Francisco did not seem to appreciate the quickening surge of colonial poeples toward democratic independence. Perhaps a Labor victory or even important Labor gains in the British election will bring about a change in official attitude.

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THE VICTORY OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC Front in Peru is bound to have a momentous effect throughout Latin America. From Buenos Aires to Mexico all the reactionary forces had speculated on the triumph of General Ureta, Presidential candidate of the conservative National Union Coalition, whose pro-fascist sympathies led him in the early period of the war to side openly with the Axis. The Argentine colonels, in particular, eagerly expected the election of Ureta, hoping that a strong bloc including Argentina, Bolivia, Paraguay, and Peru, would in the space of a few months succeed in overthrowing the democratic government in Chile, isolating Uruguay, and extending fascist domination through the continent. The election of the candidate of the leftist coalition, Dr. José Luis Bustamante, puts an end to these speculations. The newly elected President, besides announcing that one of his first acts when he takes office on July 28 will be to abolish all vestiges of censorship, is pledged to a program of reform which, though limited and tempered to conditions in his socially backward country, amounts to a real revolution. The latest election returns insure Dr. Bustamante a majority in both houses to carry out his program. In foreign relations his government represents exactly the opposite position to that of the Argentine government. The Peruvian elections confirm our belief that the war has exercised a profound influence on the peoples of Latin America and created almost everywhere the basis for encouraging democratic regimes. Not even from the point of view of the political realism which our State Department has so often professed can it longer justify support of the reactionary elements in Latin America. In Argentina as well as in Peru, indeed even more readily than in Peru, we could by now have had a decent democratic regime, had we not been foolish enough to save the Perón government during the Chapultepec conference and thus open the way for its acceptance at San Francisco. That is the most important lesson of the Peruvian election.

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SENATOR BILBO'S EXHIBITION LAST THURSDAY made it appear that at the cost of hundreds of thousands of lives we had destroyed Hitler's racial obscenity in Europe only to have it parade in all its shameless arrogance at the very center of our democracy. If, as it appears at this writing, the FEPC is to be destroyed or mutilated, then it may well be asked how our nation can speak a word for democracy in a war-shattered world when at home we turn our backs on the elementary principle of equal economic opportunity? Perhaps we should warn the other nations that Bilbo is an atavistic survival and not an effective symbol of American democracy and compassion. Perhaps it should be pointed out that American patriotism is hardly to be judged by a Senator who would tie up the funds for seventeen essential war agencies rather than run the risk of voting $466,200 to mitigate the lot of millions of traditionally oppressed citizens. Whatever the outcome, it is important to assess the meaning of this latest manifestation of American reaction and weigh the strength of the opposing factions. The President himself has shown great courage in twice speaking for the FEPC. The Republicans have proved themselves but sorry champions of an agency which, for election purposes, they insisted ought to be made permanent; they apparently have not decided that the time has come to break with their natural allies in the South. What is quite clear is that the battleground for 1946 is being laid out. The liberal gains in the South in 1944 represent only a partial victory. Now these same liberal forces—political, labor, and community groups—must lose no time in preparing for a decisive struggle at the polls. For them, as for liberals throughout the nation, the challenge is nothing less than to extirpate from American public life all the evil intolerance that Bilbo and Rankin personify.

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IN THE FINAL SHOWDOWN THE OPA SURVIVED the attacks of its enemies without suffering irretrievable damage. The disastrous Wherry amendment, which would have put farm prices on a cost-plus basis, and the scarcely less mischievous Dirksen amendment for court review of OPA

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orders were eliminated. Although a modified form of the Andresen amendment for a "food czar" was adopted by the House-Senate conferees, the Republicans are far from happy over the compromise. The Administration victory in conference makes it sure that the struggle against inflation will go on for another year without appreciable loss of vigor. Reports of growing black-market conditions in many sections of the country make it evident, however, that the OPA's task will be more difficult than ever before. In view of its restricted budget the agency cannot be expected to cope with the problem single-handed. It will need the most active kind of cooperation from local and state enforcement agents and, above all, from the general public. If every responsible citizen made a point of reporting every indication of black marketeering to his local board, the evil could quickly be stamped out.

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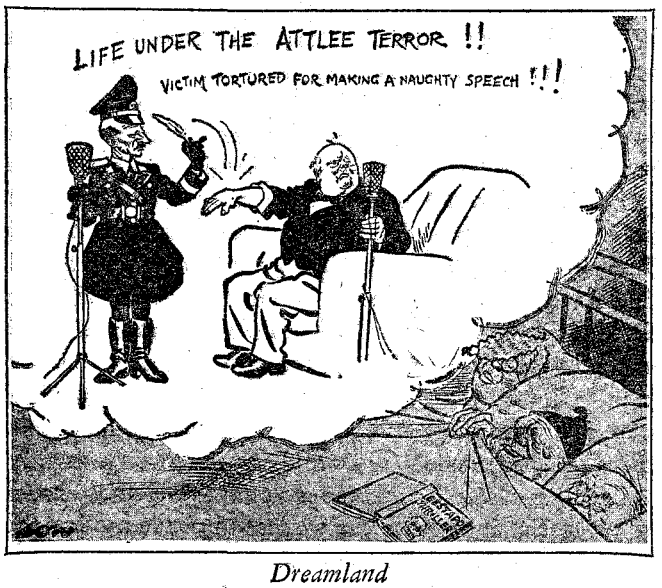
MR. TRUMAN'S PROPOSAL TO ALTER THE PRESENT order of Presidential succession arose from an excellent impulse to insure that the functions of Chief Executive should be exercised by an elected rather than an appointed official. But the proposal was ill-timed and of doubtful wisdom none the less, and we hope the bill introduced in the House by Mr. Sumners will be defeated. Its apparent advantages are almost entirely fortuitous, resulting from the peculiar state of affairs that existed at Mr. Roosevelt's death. Certainly Mr. Stettinius would have been an inappropriate successor had Mr. Truman been removed from office before the new Secretary of State was chosen. And Mr. Truman apparently felt it was improper that he should have the power, in appointing a new Secretary, to appoint at the same time his own possible successor. But the proposal to vest the office of President in the Speaker of the House, as the official who comes closest to being a popularly elected representative, seems to us to be based more on an estimate of the men involved than on underlying political considerations. And surely a decision as to the Presidency should not be influenced by arguments which are both *ad hoc* and *ad hominem*. A simpler plan would be to continue the present system but provide for a special election in case the Secretary of State should become President more than ninety days before the end of the term. This would obviate the danger that the national government might be headed for a considerable time by an appointed official—a danger which has not materialized in the history of the country—without creating the danger that it might be turned over to a Representative elected locally and raised to the Speakership by the operation of the seniority rule.



Dreamland

Britain Votes

BRITISH electors on July 5 will have their first chance in ten years to express their views at the polls, but ballots will not be counted until July 25, owing to the extra time allowed for service voters. The contest is the most open within living memory. Millions of voters—all under thirty-one—have never cast a ballot before. Moreover, the electoral register is said to be very imperfect, and some reports suggest that bungled handling of service ballot papers will deprive many soldiers and sailors of the chance to vote. Both these circumstances will tend to harm the Labor Party, for probably most unregistered voters are workers shifted from their homes on war jobs and there are numerous signs of a strong leftward trend in the services.

Another bar to prophecy is the unusually large number of candidates—1,686 competing for 640 "seats." Consequently there are only 265 "straight fights," while 293 contests are three-cornered. In sixty other places four or more candidates compete for support. As a result, either the Conservatives or Laborites could win a majority of seats on a minority of votes, or no party might secure an overall majority. That would probably mean a new coalition government—Labor has indicated its willingness to make a working arrangement with the Liberals—but the situation would be unstable.

American correspondents in Britain appear to have been shocked by the rowdy and undignified nature of the campaign. Having observed the British parties working harmoniously together throughout the war, they have been surprised by the thoroughness with which they fell apart immediately politics were reconverted to a peacetime basis. Looking back on former British general elections, we feel there is little cause for alarm. The Eatanswill tradition persists in Britain to some extent; elections are usually fought without much verbal restraint, and on this occasion there is a great deal of bottled-up political steam needing an outlet.

In so far as the campaign has taken on an unduly factious tone, Mr. Churchill and his advisers, particularly Lord Beaverbrook, must be held largely responsible. While posing as a "national" leader, the Prime Minister in his opening radio address chose to make a violent onslaught on the Labor Party. He charged that its socialist plans, if carried into effect, would introduce totalitarianism into Britain. He even raised the bogy of a Labor Gestapo which would drag all critics to concentration camps. Following this line, some Tories are now using posters of Belsen and Buchenwald to illustrate their ideas of life under a Labor government. Indignantly Labor candidates are recalling the friendliness of

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leading Tories toward the Nazis in the appeasement era, the praise Churchill himself once bestowed on Mussolini, and his more recent kind words for Franco.

It is doubtful whether these polemical exchanges will have an important influence on the final results. The great interest of the mass of the British people is in post-war reconstruction, in such bread-and-butter questions as jobs, social insurance, medical service, and, above all, houses. On these issues there is little to choose between the promises of the different parties and the voter's problem is to decide which will give the better performance.

Clean Out the State Department

NOW that James F. Byrnes has been appointed by the President as the new Secretary of State, one of his first acts will doubtless be a thorough reorganization of the State Department. Mr. Byrnes is one of the ablest administrators in the government. He is not likely to tolerate the conflict and inefficiency which have existed in the foreign office of our government for so many years. He will want to bring in his own men, and he certainly will not try to run the department with the hodge-podge appointees put into office along with Mr. Stettinius some six months ago.

Primary attention must be given to the selection of the top officials who, by their day-to-day decisions, are largely responsible for the determination of American foreign policy. Assistant Secretary Dunn and Under Secretary Grew have been the chief policy-making officials in recent months in all matters except those concerning Latin America. For Far Eastern policy the name of Eugene Dooman, special assistant to Mr. Dunn, should be added. Mr. Dunn's pro-Franco and anti-Russian prejudices are so notorious that it is obviously unsafe to leave him in a position where he will continue to influence American policy toward Europe. Mr. Grew is wholly without European experience. With respect to Asia, the State Department is in the incredible position of having no one in a top position with general Far Eastern experience. Mr. Grew and Mr. Dooman have served only in Japan. Mr. Dunn has never served in an Asiatic country. The Director of the Office of Far Eastern Affairs, Joseph Ballantine, has served mostly in Japan, and he has little or no influence on policy. There is no one who can speak authoritatively on China or the Southwest Pacific. The chiefs of the geographical divisions within the Far Eastern Office, though relatively capable men, have little say when it comes to policy making. Unless the dead wood at the top can be removed, the forward-looking men who are to be found throughout the State Department must remain wholly without influence.

The basic cause of the State Department's vacillation and weakness on vital issues lies in the sharp cleavage which exists between the men who came into the department prior to 1924, when the Rogers Act was passed, and those who have come in since that date. Most of the older men had no qualifications for foreign service other than money, a family name, an Eastern-university education, and a desire for social prestige. They looked upon the service as offering a soft life with good social connections. After 1924 many changes were effected. Entrance examinations were made more difficult, salaries increased, special allowances introduced, and a pension system established—making it possible for able men of moderate means to enter and remain in the service. Moreover, an increasing interest in world affairs made the service more attractive as a career. The result has been a great improvement in the quality of our foreign-service personnel. The younger men are, on the whole, abler, more aware of the significance of the problems which confront the United States, and more capable of showing moral courage when issues of importance arise.

Yet because of seniority the pre-1924 officials hold most of the higher posts in the department, together with a number of ambassadorial positions. Grew is sixty-five; Dunn and Dooman are fifty-five; Ballantine is fifty-seven. Younger men with exceptional talents have been relegated to positions where their talents cannot be fully used. This has naturally lowered their morale, and many of the more brilliant officials have left the service for less stultifying careers. Some of those who remained have been infected by the dead rot that has so long afflicted their seniors. Fear may accentuate this tendency. The recent arrest of John S. Service, one of the most capable of the younger men, is generally regarded as a warning to the others not to be too critical of the policies of their elders, even though the well-being of the country is at stake.

An effective reorganization of the State Department—designed to create an agency capable of giving this country a vigorous, consistent, democratic foreign policy—obviously demands more than a reshuffling of a few top posts. A thorough shake-up is needed. The ingrown crowd of Social Registerites must be cleaned out. For two or three years there has existed a list of officers in the top grades who are designated for retirement as "dead wood." But the department has hesitated to act. It feared that the sudden forced retirement of a number of high officials would make it evident that these men had been promoted and assigned to important posts for reasons other than efficiency. And it wondered how to explain the forced retirement of some sixty "experienced" men at a time when it was requesting funds for an expansion of the foreign service.

But a smooth-running, modern organization will not be achieved merely by eliminating the older "career" men. It will be necessary to bring into the department some new men who have not been contaminated by the snobbery and false social standards that have so long prevailed within the department. We could name several persons of exceptional ability who have been dealing with foreign countries through Lend-Lease, the FEA, or UNRRA who could well be utilized in the State Department. We do not ask that the State Department be dominated by liberals or reformers. But it is not unreasonable to insist that the men who shape our foreign policy be genuinely democratic in their outlook. The next few years will undoubtedly see an upsurge of popular movements throughout the world. It will not be easy for America to adjust itself to the basic changes that are bound to occur. But if we have the wisdom to put into office persons who, regardless of money, color, or social standing, have

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a broad understanding of world events as well as basic ability and experience, we can face the future with far better hope of a successful foreign policy than has seemed possible in recent years.

Mirror of Our World

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE United Nations Charter is a mirror of the present world of national states. It reflects the inner conflict of desire and fear that dominates even the strongest powers and expresses itself on the one hand in an honest effort to achieve security through collective agreement and on the other in a refusal to surrender any of the established attributes of sovereignty and individual power. As long as this conflict exists, the new world organization is bound to be essentially a great-power alliance rather than a world government.

And this is what it is. Power rests with the five most important national states, each of which retains its full sovereign right to prevent any action even by the other four; peace depends upon the continued agreement of the five to maintain peace. The alliance is refined and strengthened by elaborate provisions for settling disputes and for the joint use of force when force becomes necessary. It is supported by the creation of an assembly, with wide powers of investigation and discussion, in which all member nations meet on equal terms; and of a world court to handle judicable disputes. Thus the machinery of collective decision is set up while the reality of sovereign power is maintained.

Such a charter can please no one completely, because what the people of the world profoundly desire is something which will not mirror their conflicts but resolve them, which will dispel their fears and satisfy their hopes. But this desire cannot in the nature of things be fulfilled; the nations must themselves achieve integration and internal maturity before they can create a world organization that is itself mature and unified.

The new United Nations organization is the best possible expression of the present level of world opinion. Isolationists may adopt the tactics—as Senator Wheeler has already indicated—of opposing international commitments by this country in advance of a completed world peace. This, in fact, will be the opposition's most plausible line of attack: Why tie the United States to a plan of enforcement before we know what we shall be called upon to enforce? For there is no end to the evidence in support of this position ready at hand for those who choose to ignore the fact that any hope of mitigating the selfish claims of separate powers rests in a growth of confidence in the strength of a world organization.

Uncompromising internationalists will argue that the veto power of the big five negates the very essence of collective action even in its narrowest context. And logically they will be right. But since the world is not run by logic but by pressures exercised by nations and groups of nations, their objection resolves itself into opposition to any plan now conceivable. The fight against great-power control put up by some of the lesser states was worth making both for the modifications it actually brought about and for the fact that it ended in the generous acquiescence—though not the agreement—of those states, ably led by Australia, which forced the issue. In other words, the smaller states, confronted by the realities which govern relations between nations today, chose ultimately to accept the imperfect instrument which they found was the best they could get.

Reactionaries will attack the charter because it gives great power to Russia and because it presumes a willingness to accept Russian dominance over a large part of the world. Such persons will not be concerned about American plans to extend our own area of control by solidifying a hemispheric bloc and insuring our sole possession of island outposts in the Pacific. These will seem only the natural defensive measures of a great and peaceful nation. But the efforts of Russia to buttress its position both through charter provisions and spheres of influence will be taken as valid grounds for opposition. Certainly it would be a more hopeful omen if Russia were prepared to put all its eggs into the United Nations basket; but since this is not the case, these persons, too, should understand the real meaning of their attitude. Russia has emerged from the war as one of the two greatest powers in the world and it is clear beyond argument that the hope of peace depends upon a continuing union among Russia and the other Allied nations. The only alternative to such a union is not the reduction of Russian power, but ultimate war. It is this that the reactionaries must be forced to admit; this position they must be prepared to defend.

Men who are genuinely eager to have a more democratic organization for world security will not oppose the beginning made at San Francisco. They will accept it for what it is—an instrument for holding together a coalition absolutely essential to the maintenance of peace; for avoiding or settling differences between members; for putting down aggression by force when the great powers agree force is needed. These are primitive requirements for avoiding war in the early future; they correspond roughly to the makeshift provisions for maintaining order in a frontier community. No one holds frontier justice in contempt because it has not achieved the dimensions of a complete system of democratic guarantees and legal procedure. The arrangements set forth in the new Charter, for all the pomp and ceremony with which it was promulgated, are little more than a plan to give frontier justice to a world just emerging from lawlessness. It may succeed in this basic task better than in any attempt, in the present stage of international relationships, to set up a full-fledged system of world government. And those who oppose it because of its apparent imperfections are not in fact working for the more complete system they talk about; they are working for a return to unrestrained international banditry. The United Nations Charter provides a means to end the rule of the horse thief and the border raider in world affairs; it proposes to supplant lynch law with a sheriff and a justice of the peace. We believe the American people will support this effort, and we hope the Senate will follow President Truman's urgent advice and make the United States the first nation to ratify the Charter.

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Can Germany Fight Again?

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, June 29

THINKING on Germany has suffered from the vices of a priori reasoning. There has been too much loose and often lazy-minded deduction from vague general principles, too little concrete knowledge. The great virtue of the hearings begun here before Senator Harley M. Kilgore of West Virginia and his colleagues of the "Kilgore committee" is that they are beginning to provide the facts.

The opening sessions have already furnished the first overall view of the Reich's current assets and capacity for waging war again. These are considerable. Last September President Roosevelt instructed the Foreign Economic Administration to initiate a series of "studies from the economic standpoint of what should be done to limit the power and capacity of Germany to make war in the future." Enough has been learned, Henry H. Fowler, director of the Enemy Branch of the FEA, now tells the Kilgore committee, "to safeguard an estimate that, if we were to leave Germany to its own devices and not to institute a program of economic and industrial disarmament, Germany could be far better prepared for war within five years than she was in 1939."

The effect of bombings has been overemphasized. "The most striking fact that should be underscored in our current thinking," Fowler testified, "is that in late 1944 the German nation achieved the highest level of production in its entire history." Bombing was most effective where it was strategic, but strategic bombing sought out the bottlenecks of the German economy; it did not destroy German industry. "For the most part," Fowler said, "the great majority of the most important plants could today go into operation after very little repair." Fowler's industry-by-industry analysis should be required reading for all who wish to prevent a third German attempt at world conquest.

Dyestuffs is a basic war industry. The Reich has one plant "in perfect operating condition today . . . that can turn out almost as much dye in one year as all the plants in the United States together." German steel capacity is at least 25,000,000 tons, and "practically all the great iron and steel furnaces of Germany are ready for operation or can be in operation with minor repairs." Germany, which consumed less than 4,000,000 tons of petroleum products in 1934, was producing 1,000,000 tons of natural and 5,500,000 tons of synthetic oil ten years later within the 1938 boundaries of the Reich. Oil plants were a high-priority target, "but it is believed," Fowler reported, "that a large part of Germany's 1944 capacity for producing petroleum products can be restored within a brief period." The Reich, with an aluminum-producing capacity of 40,000 tons annually in 1933, ended the war with a capacity of about 250,000 tons. German synthetic-rubber capacity today is still 80 per cent greater than the Reich's imports of rubber and semi-manufactured rubber goods in 1933.

The either-or oversimplification—shall we reduce the Reich to an agricultural country?—plays directly into German hands. The sober facts are that in many basic industries German capacity is in excess of legitimate German domestic and export needs, and considerable de-industrialization is necessary as a measure of security and to create a better-balanced European economy. German machine-tool and machine-tool-building capacity is out of all proportion to its peace-time requirements. This is also the case in steel. The Reich's 25,000,000-ton capacity would have been large enough, Fowler pointed out, to supply half of the United States' peace-time requirements, including those of "the tremendous transportation system, railroads, waterways, and highways necessary to keep together our economic and industrial structure, which is spread over an area sixteen times as large as that of Germany." The Reich cannot use that much steel "except for warfare."

The Kilgore hearings have also provided some insight into German plans to utilize nest eggs abroad to support a Nazi underground and to prepare the way for the revival of an aggressive Reich. Fowler submitted detailed memoranda on the flight of German capital abroad and the extent to which it has penetrated banking, industry, and trade in other countries, notably in Sweden, Spain, Argentina, and Switzerland. Here German plans are aided by the complaisance of the State Department toward Franco and Perón. The Kilgore committee had submitted a comprehensive series of detailed questions to the State Department and elicited a long statement in reply from Assistant Secretary of State Will Clayton. This disclosed, among other things, that the largest number of Axis "spearhead" firms are in Argentina, and that not a single one of these firms has been eliminated despite the Chapultepec pledges on which the Perón regime was ushered into the United Nations. The Franco pattern is repeating itself in the New World. The Fowler and Clayton statements are the strongest of arguments that there must be new and democratic regimes in Spain and Argentina if German plans for a third try are to be defeated.

The Kilgore committee will be neglecting its duty if it rests content with the prepared statements submitted to it. A real investigation is required. There was, for example, a frustrating air of unreality about Clayotn's references to the black list and to our program for replacing Axis firms in Latin America. This replacement program was sabotaged in the Office of the Alien Property Custodian under Leo T. Crowley and withered away months ago. The facts were called to public attention by this correspondent in *The Nation* of last January 6 in a Washington letter called Fumbling with I. G. Farben, and in *PM* last winter in the series of editorials Report to the President. It is time the Senate found out how Nazi property and patents have been handled, what influences were brought to bear against the replacement program, and exactly what are the relations between Crowley and the Anglo-German banking firm of the Schrö-

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ders. Crowley is still drawing the $75,000 a year paid him as head of Standard Gas and Electric, a job given him when the Schröders were the dominant stockholders in the Standard Gas holding-company system. The Schröders were leading bankers for Axis interests in London and New York before the war, and now have an important branch in Buenos Aires. One of their partners, Vlada-Mocarski, an ultra-reactionary White Russian, was appointed American consul in Zurich some months ago by the State Department, a key vantage post with respect to the flight of German capital abroad.

In the machinery of the military control commission in Germany, as in Washington, men closely linked with German cartels and friendly to German business and finance occupy key posts. The memberships of the Technical Industrial Disarmament Committees in the FEA at Washington were disclosed to the Kilgore committee, and they contain the names of many men from big concerns closely linked with I. G. Farben before the war. Testimony before the committee showed that the Germans are planning to utilize these old connections, and it is the duty of the Kilgore committee fully to explore them and to make the facts known. In this connection I want to call attention to an interesting statement on page 534 of the committee transcript, a passage in an FEA memo on German penetration of French finance during the occupation. This says that all enemy banks were put under German administration, including "American banks. The Chase Bank and Morgan et Cie., however, the only two American banks which continued operations, received special treatment." Why did these two leading American banks receive special treatment from the Germans? The question is of especial interest because Chase is the Rockefeller-Standard Oil bank.

I have no space to do more than praise the wise and statesman-like testimony by Baruch which opened the hearings. Or to do more than touch upon the complex political and social problems involved in ending the threat of renewed German aggression. One FEA memorandum on German rearmament after World War I vividly illustrates how the German General Staff was able to exploit Bolshevik fear of the West to rebuild the Reich's military power while German industry was able to utilize Western capitalist fear of "overproduction" to increase the Reich's economic potential at the expense of its neighbors. The situation after this war is not greatly different. In the political sphere the unity of the big powers is again the first essential. In the economic and social sphere the task is even more difficult. It is the industrial reconstruction of Europe with a view to increasing (1) the potential of Germany's neighbors at the expense of the Reich, and (2) the productivity, the consuming power, and the living standards of the Continent. This is impossible without socialist ownership and control of basic industry in Western Europe, and our chances of that depend on coming elections in France and Belgium and the willingness of Britain and America to permit considerable social reform in our sphere of influence.

The Second League

BY PERCY E. CORBETT

THE San Francisco conference was a good deal like a tug-of-war, with five great states on one end of the rope and a crowd of small ones on the other. The pattern was not perfect, for certain small clients pulled with their big patrons, and once or twice several big powers, without deserting their end of the rope, either went slack or pulled openly in the other direction. This general pattern was to be expected, since the purpose of the conference was to win the consent of small states to something already decided by the great, and since the small were being asked to give up some portion of a sovereignty which the great retained intact. As was also to be expected, the great states won most of the pulls. At decisive points the issue for the small states was between formal prestige on the one side and substantial security on the other. Substantial security won.

The upshot of the struggle was the definitive design of over-all international collaboration after this world war. It is being greeted with some exuberant praise and some muffled cynicism. It deserves neither the one nor the other. Its merits—which are numerous—are the fruit of hard, patient labor by devoted men. Its defects—which, if it be regarded as a system of world government, are obvious—are mostly the product of forces beyond the control of the representatives who met at San Francisco or even of their governments.

The United Nations' power for action, such as it is, is concentrated in the Security Council. The General Assembly, unlike the corresponding body in the League of Nations, is confined to a role of discussion and recommendation. Only in the internal economy of the organization—matters of membership, budget, non-permanent representation in the Security Council, composition of the Economic and Social Council and of the International Court—does it make decisions binding on member states. The clear-cut subordination of this body of fifty to the Security Council of eleven is emphasized by the rule that it may not even make a recommendation on its own initiative concerning a dispute or situation which is being dealt with by the Council.

There is, however, no limitation on the General Assembly's range of *discussion* so long as it keeps within the scope of the Charter itself. Happily this restriction to the scope of the Charter was all that resulted from the Soviet Union's protest against unlimited exploration by the Assembly. In so far as it excludes examination of matters "essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state" (Article 2, Paragraph 7), it will be difficult enough to observe or enforce. But as a forum for the ventilation of most problems arising out of the relations of states, the General Assembly undoubtedly has a very broad and very useful function.

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Since the equal participation of all members in actual decision-making is politically impossible, there is much to be said for having one fully representative body which, because its deliberations do not result in binding decisions or call imperatively for action, can range over the whole field of the United Nations' activity. Some will revile it, as they reviled the League of Nations, as a debating society; but a debating society which doesn't set out to be a parliament or government can render great service.

It is easy, however, to exaggerate the operative powers with which the Charter endows even the Security Council. There is in fact no shifting of power away from its present possessors. When called upon by a vote of seven in the Security Council, members of the United Nations will *lend* to it a portion of their power. The portion is to be determined by agreements which have still to be made between the Security Council and all members. The seven votes will have to include that of each of the five great states. The question whether the Security Council can use any power at all thus depends on the consent of each of these five, and the question whether that consent will be given will in each case be decided like any other question of major national policy. That is the indisputable ground for the statement that the effective operation of the United Nations as keeper of the peace will at all times be conditional on the agreement of the five permanent members of the Security Council.

Now these five members could by their united action keep the peace independently of any general organization. One essential question, therefore, in assessing the merits of the San Francisco structure, is whether the organization will help materially to keep the great powers in agreement or will lend any greater efficacy to their action when they are agreed.

There are several ways in which the existence and activity of the United Nations should assist in keeping agreement among the great powers. Through its economic and social work, as well as through its machinery for the discussion, conciliation, and adjudication of disputes, the new league is calculated to reduce the number of issues developing to the point where they may sharply divide the "Big Five." Even where sharp division is threatened, the fact of having assumed a world-wide obligation of peaceful settlement, and the position of leadership in an association devoted to that purpose, will weigh among the factors making for amiable adjustment. They will not necessarily be prevailing influences; but they will count.

As for efficacy of action once agreement is achieved, the new mechanism will far surpass anything that could be devised on the spur of the moment. There will be a Military Staff Committee which, like the Security Council to which it is responsible, will function continuously. This will have in readiness plans for the strategy and direction of any military action which the Council may decide to be necessary. A mere alliance of the great powers could, it is true, maintain such a committee; but the Military Staff Committee of the United Nations, once the obligatory special agreements with all members have been worked out, will have at its immediate disposal forces, bases, and facilities which a limited alliance could only exact at the price of lives, resources, and precious time. Here is one palpable improvement on the machinery of the League of Nations. Given a modicum of good faith on the part of its leading members, the United Nations will save much misery and pay generous dividends in security.

One incisive question is being asked about these arrangements for preventing aggression. It arises out of the constant possibility that a single great power may veto action. If that happens, would action taken by another member, who is convinced that justice and prudence alike demand military measures, constitute an illegal use of force? If so, is not this an undesirable limitation of the legal freedom even of the greatest members? Certainly no legal enforcement can be undertaken by the organization itself over the veto. But the question is whether action outside the organization also becomes illegal. The Charter does not make it quite clear whether such a case would be covered by the liberty allowed to regional associates (Article 52-54) or by the reservation of "the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense" (Article 51); for the legality of action taken under regional arrangements—other than those directed against states on the Axis side in this war—or alleged to be taken in self-defense, is itself subject to the decision of the Security Council. An authoritative interpretation on this point may well be called for in the process of ratification.

The Statute of the new International Court of Justice is an almost verbatim reproduction of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice established in 1920. It preserves the vices of the previous structure. Most notable among these is the idea of representation which finds expression in the institution of *ad hoc* judges. Unlike national courts, where a judge with a special interest in one of the parties withdraws from the case, this tribunal not only allows a judge who is a national of one of the parties to remain on the bench but invites a party not represented by a judge in the existing court to appoint one specially for the case in hand. Needless to say, this detracts from the judicial character of the tribunal and will be a standing impediment to the growth of a tradition of impartial detachment.

It is a pity, too, that individuals are not to be admitted as parties before the court. It is open only to states. The danger of frivolous or provocative applications could have been met by preliminary screening. With this continuing limitation, the court can hardly serve for the protection of those "fundamental human rights" which the United Nations are pledged to promote.

These defects, along with the absence of compulsory jurisdiction, stem from that same general reservation of sovereignty that runs, at least for the benefit of the great states, through the entire Charter. They should not blind us to the fact that the previous World Court rendered great service in the peaceful settlement of disputes and in the fuller development and definition of international law, and that the new tribunal can be expected to carry on its excellent work. The addition of the Soviet Union to its supporters may have profoundly beneficial consequences, particularly if this means the full participation of Russia in the development of a more certain law of nations.

In this connection the new rule (Article 94 of the Charter) which allows recourse to the Security Council against a state failing to carry out a judgment of the court will attract much attention. It is clearly intended to add weight to decisions. But it will need to be carefully administered

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lest it engender a practice of deferring satisfaction of judgment until the winning party lodges complaint with the Council. This could develop into a political appeal over judicial decision, and the resulting position would be worse than the present. For many years, without any organized sanction, the record of fulfilment of awards handed down by international tribunals has been remarkably good. It is greatly to be hoped that the Security Council will not allow the new procedure to degenerate into a mode of reopening cases in a totally different type of forum.

Great hopes attach to the Economic and Social Council, and the statement is heard that this new agency is destined eventually to surpass even the Security Council in importance. Commentators speak as if corresponding machinery had been entirely lacking in the League of Nations. This does scant justice to the battery of social, economic, and financial agencies which under the League rendered highly valued service to the community of nations. It also ignores the fact that this council will, like similar agencies at Geneva, have to make its way by persuasion. In common with the Assembly under which it acts, it lacks coercive power. Yet, as sharpened and extended at San Francisco, the United Nations social and economic arrangements do promise new initiative and new coordination.

At Dumbarton Oaks no provision at all was made for supervising the government of dependent peoples. This gap was filled at San Francisco by the "International Trusteeship System." This is designed to replace the League in relation to the existing mandated territories, and to exercise an advisory supervision over certain territories detached from enemy states as a result of the war. It will perform the same function for territories voluntarily brought under it by the states now responsible for their administration—hardly a likely contingency.

The most remarkable features in this part of the text are (1) formal recognition by the colonial powers of the obligation to insure the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of all their colonial peoples and (2) their agreement to transmit regularly information to the United Nations on their success in this respect. True, this reporting obligation, which is quite independent of the trusteeship system, is subject "to such limitations as security and constitutional considerations may require"; but it may serve to bring some most wholesome light on the complex details of colonial administration.

Everything considered, the San Francisco Charter merits much more than a grudging support which merely accepts it as, "with all its imperfections," better than nothing. In recent months we have again been furnished with the strongest evidence that for better or worse men still desire to live in separate states each flaunting at least some rags of sovereignty. So long as it continues to be a dominant human desire not to merge in one universal community, it is perhaps an error to describe as "imperfections" those elements in any plan of association which flow inevitably from this reservation. The imperfections would appear to reside in the present disposition of man and their remedy to lie in processes deeper than the mechanics of organization.

Crippling the Disabled Veteran

BY EDWARD M. MAISEL

THE latest canard used in the drive to split veterans from labor is that labor is the chief obstacle to the employment of seriously disabled veterans. Industry, by contrast, is represented as their beneficent protector. The controversy revolves at present around "homework," that is, industrial work done in private homes. With the return to civilian life of more and more disabled service men, this issue will be increasingly exploited in the anti-labor campaign. A recent open meeting called to discuss the future of New York State's 31,450 homeworkers, attended by representatives of the C. I. O., the A. F. of L., and employer groups, exploded into turmoil and bitterness.

Only the seriously disabled veterans are affected, but we face today the greatest number of severely handicapped ex-service men in our history. The number is unprecedented, first, because of the magnitude of the war and of the forces engaged, and, secondly, because modern medical and surgical methods have kept alive many wounded men who would formerly have died. Blood plasma, the sulphas and penicillin, and air transportation have tremendously increased a severely wounded man's chances of survival. A third reason for the large number of permanently disabled lies in the nature of the new weapons. Booby traps, mines, high-explosive shells, and flame-throwers do not make nice clean wounds: they shatter arms and legs; they pierce vital nerve centers.

Although no statistics on the seriously disabled in the armed forces are as yet available, it has been announced that 1,500,000 handicapped men have been discharged from the services, and it is authoritatively estimated that another 1,000,000 may be expected before victory over Japan. Eleven thousand amputation cases have been reported already, compared to the total of 4,403 in World War I. This category, of course, does not include the soldier deafened when his tank blew up, the sailor burned in a sea of flaming oil, the marine suffering from a recurrent fever, or the paratrooper stunned and shocked by an ill-fated landing. The blind, the deaf, and the speechless, the paralyzed, the infected, and the shocked, will mount up to a formidable total.

There is also an astounding number of persons who have been disabled by industrial accidents during the war—2,250,000 in 1944 alone. They are labor's "veterans in overalls."

Moderately handicapped veterans, who form the majority of the disabled, are being encouraged to find a normal place in industry. Whatever a man's partial disability, a satisfactory mechanical appliance or sensory aid, together with expert vocational advice, will fit him for a position alongside able-

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bodied workers. For the severely handicapped the choice is more limited. If a veteran is prevented by his extreme disability from pursuing a normal vocation, he must enter the badly regulated, badly exploited, antiquated system of industrial "homework." Homework flourishes in many different industries, of which artificial flowers, buttons, jewelry, gloves, embroideries, knitted clothing, and handkerchiefs may be considered typical. Hand-finishing of clothing, carding of buttons, rolling handkerchief hems, putting slides on shoulder straps, and the like are relatively simple processes, and can be done at home under conditions adapted to the invalid. Such work is usually paid for at piece rates, per article, per dozen, or per gross.

The abuses which have made homework the scourge of modern industry are fairly well known. The practice has developed into a system of chain sweatshops in which able-bodied as well as disabled workers are widely employed. Control of home workshops is difficult, and the sanitary conditions and workmanship may not meet consumer standards. The wages and hours of the unorganized homeworker are often far below standard and constitute a standing threat to workers employed in factories. The homeworker must frequently provide his own tools and have someone call for and deliver his work, or himself pay the shipping costs—in all these ways bearing a portion of his employer's overhead. Or he may be called upon to perform work that is physically dangerous under the circumstances of home employment. Or he is obliged to share his meager profit with the subcontractor who handles distribution.

These abuses certainly invite reform and indicate that homework should be confined to the severely disabled. Within the Department of Labor, however, certain influential elements have proposed a policy which aims not to correct the abuses of homework or to control the system but rather to abolish it entirely. The administrative complexity and excessive cost of a program of regulation are the excuses offered for this policy. It was supported by the Eleventh National Conference on Labor Legislation, the annual gathering of state labor commissioners called by the Secretary of Labor, which in December, 1944, adopted a resolution declaring unequivocally that "the system itself must be abolished."

Thus far nineteen states have enacted some kind of prohibition or regulation of industrial homework, varying from New Jersey's comprehensive law to Ohio's loose regulation, which applies only when work is done in a home by persons not members of the family. (New York's proposed new measure would prevent any group of severely injured veterans of this war from undertaking a homework cooperative.) Two cornerstones of the federal government's control of homework are the Public Contract (Walsh-Healey) Act of 1936 and the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938. The former, which prohibits industrial homework in all government contracts of more than $10,000, has acted as a real curb during the present war boom but with the return of civilian goods will lose part of its effect. It is the Fair Labor Standards Act, therefore, which represents the most decisive step toward abolition. Under authority granted him by this act, the Administrator of the Wage-and-Hour and Public-Contracts Division issued orders prohibiting industrial homework in six major industries in which it had been practiced. These orders took small account of the severely disabled, who to obtain special homework certificates must either have been engaged in the industry before a fixed date—as, for example, April 1, 1941—or be under the supervision of a state vocational-rehabilitation agency or a sheltered workshop.

It is clear from these orders that the official policy toward homework is abolition rather than intelligent control, that the ultimate aim is to throw out the baby with the bath. Thus the orders seek to limit homework to those handicapped who were engaged in it before an established date. It makes no provision for those who, because of a tolerable financial condition before that date, or because they were not psychologically or physically ready for work at that time, or because they have since become disabled, are now unemployed. It makes scant and uncertain provision for the great new army of severely disabled veterans and war-workers. To insist that they remain under a government vocational-rehabilitation agency or a sheltered workshop is to condemn them to a state of perpetual training without graduation. Are they to be excluded from the normal social-security benefits—unemployment compensation, old-age annuities, and survivors' benefits for their families—for which only the bona fide employees of a company are eligible?

Certain peculiar circumstances attending the issuance of these orders should be noted. At the public hearing before issuance of the first order, covering the jewelry manufacturing industry, neither labor nor any other interested group recommended prohibition of homework to the seriously disabled. In fact, Morris Borodkin, the C. I. O. representative, made a careful distinction on this point: "I don't think the word 'abolish' is correct. We should probably say prohibition of homework except under very strict supervision and except in cases of the infirm and aged." Moreover, no limiting date had been mentioned by anyone at the public hearing. What happened behind the scenes?

The six orders were clearly in danger from Congress, since they violated the Fair Labor Standards Act, which enjoins the administrator to prevent curtailment of employment opportunities for the handicapped. To forestall Congressional intervention and to stem the rising flood of misery among the handicapped, they were later amended so that the requirement of having been employed in an industry before a fixed date may now be relaxed in cases of "unusual hardship." This dodge has served to rescue the orders from Congressional action, but whether the arbitrary assumption of power to grade misery is legitimate may be doubted. In practice, "unusual hardship" has too often come to mean unusual hardship to the disabled worker's Congressman, who may be harassed to the point of interceding for a handicapped person needing a homework certificate. A great many persons, unless they are hardy individuals, are discouraged even from applying for certificates by the wording of the blank. In *Gemsco* v. *Walling*, test case of a seventh order, referring to embroiderers, the Labor Department soft-pedaled its handling of the disabled, and the Supreme Court, in upholding the validity of the order, February 26, 1945, took for granted that ample provision was being made for persons unable to go to a factory.

It is important to remember that the seriously wounded veteran is not well compensated for his injuries. He cannot

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provide a decent living for himself and his family on what he receives from the government. If he is discharged as totally disabled, he receives $115 a month for himself and his family. Moreover, many a veteran is rated medically as only partially disabled who from an employer's standpoint is totally disabled. There is no increase in a veteran's payment on the basis of increasing disability incident to age, although a man may find a handicap more disabling at fifty or sixty than he found it at twenty-five. Nor is there any provision for increasing payments to meet a rising cost of living. Seriously disabled industrial workers, despite workmen's compensation, fare even worse than their brothers in uniform. They are only a few notches on the economic scale above the disease-stricken, who are treated as the discards of society and objects of charity.

Even if government payments to the disabled were a good deal larger than they are, even if they can in the future be raised, the fundamental importance of homework to the handicapped veteran remains. Work is his sole method of participating in the life of his fellows; it is the only way he can be rehabilitated within the economic framework. A hopeless invalid who is rigged up by means of a halter in bed so that he can be gainfully employed in making fish lures is thereby transformed from a bitter, anti-social outcast into a busy, self-respecting worker. Gravely wounded veterans now being discharged from the armed forces are urged to follow some home occupation.

What is urgently needed is a comprehensive, well-administered program for bringing home employment under strict control and confining it to the severely disabled. Such a program must include (1) systematic and coordinated licensing of all employers of homeworkers, (2) an expanded and more stringent certification procedure in the Labor Department, based on physical examination under departmental auspices of every applicant for a homework certificate, (3) education of homebound people in their rights and prerogatives by government inspectors, whose work has too long been limited to simple policing, (4) sharp definition of the fields in which homework is permissible, with the exclusion of sanitary items and items whose manufacture involves physical danger for the worker, (5) organization and education of disabled homeworkers by the labor unions and the establishment of a bureau for this purpose within the union.

The employment rights of the disabled veteran are now being noisily trumpeted by manufacturers whose object is not the integration of homework but its flagrant abuse: if they succeed, they will reduce him to the status of a sweatshop slave. The human stakes in this problem are so great that nothing will excuse labor, industry, or government for failure to solve it.

Guadalcanal Pays Off

BY WILLIAM J. CALDWELL

[*On December 7, 1941, William Caldwell saw most of American sea power sunk at Pearl Harbor, most of American air power blown to pieces at Hickam Field. In June, 1942, he was in on the first American victory—the Battle of Midway—when airplanes stopped the Japanese fleet that was headed for our West Coast. From July, 1942, until March, 1943, Caldwell flew in the Southwest Pacific with the famous Eleventh Bombardment Group, stacking up sixty combat missions in the Guadalcanal campaign. In November, 1943, he was medically discharged after having received the Distinguished Flying Cross, the Air Medal, the Purple Heart, and a Presidential Unit Citation. Last spring Caldwell returned to the Pacific as a special observer for Army Air Forces Headquarters. He found a very different kind of war from the war of 1942.* The Nation *herewith prints extracts from letters Caldwell wrote to one of its editors.*]

HAMILTON FIELD, CALIFORNIA. Today, we were briefed by the Army Transport Command for the trip across. It was done with a speed and efficiency the airlines would find hard to beat. In one building in three quick packed hours we were run through the business of medical, survival, and administrative information and priority clearances. After a half-hour lecture on "ditching"—how to get out of an aircraft down at sea and how to stay alive afterward on a tiny life raft—the briefing officer ended up by saying: "No need to worry very much. In two years we've lost only one plane. And that didn't ditch. It just blew to pieces in midair."

San Francisco. Still waiting. This makes the tenth day. Head winds between Honolulu and here are keeping the planes grounded. The last plane out took nineteen hours instead of thirteen to reach Honolulu and landed with gas tanks reading "empty." At the front guys must be swearing: "Where the hell are those replacements?" "Why the devil can't they get those spare parts out here?" And all these ten days the replacements and the spare parts have been sitting here, labeled No. 1 priority, waiting for the winds to change.

The walls of the office where all passengers must check in twice daily are bulging. I asked some of the men where they were headed for. "The Philippines—Manila." "And you?" "The Marianas—Guam." . . . "Iwo." . . . "Kwajalein." . . . "Okinawa." . . . "Honolulu." . . . "Australia." . . . "Hell, I'm just a lousy Pfc. They don't tell me nothin'. Just give me a number. My guess is I'm off to Yokohama!"

I remembered that back in 1942 there weren't very many places an American *could* go. Japan had them all. And plane schedules had been kind of sketchy then, because there weren't many planes.

The man behind me was a corporal in the Quartermaster Corps. I turned around and asked him where he was headed.

"Me? I'm going to Guadalcanal."

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That hit me hard. That chap going to Guadalcanal! And he in the Quartermaster Corps. I suppose that is what Guadalcanal is now—a supply dump, perhaps an unimportant supply dump at that. I guess that rutted, bloody, muddy road where they hung that famous sign KILL THE BASTARDS (remember?) is a paved highway now. I guess the stinking, dripping jungle that surrounded Henderson Field has been pushed back. Our elaborate foxholes where we sweated and waited and were scared have fallen in by now. Maybe when this corporal gets out to Guadalcanal he will walk around sightseeing, looking for places where men died.

Hickam Field, Hawaii. Held up for twenty-four hours by higher priorities; so have had time to look around Hickam, which was my home for a year. Everything has changed and grown beyond belief. We always thought of Hickam as the greatest, finest, most beautiful military airfield in all the world. Today the old Hickam would look pretty small. Whereas in 1941 one man could tell you the number and history of every plane on the field, it now takes three dozen men—and even they can't keep pace with the hundreds of ships parked here, arriving and departing for all corners of the Pacific day and night—bombers, fighters, fighter-bombers, cargo planes, hospital planes, passenger planes. Today Hickam is no longer beautiful. The slapdash, ugly camouflage paint we smeared on hangars and barracks has peeled and chipped. The black tar with which we blacked out every window has been removed only here and there. And on the immaculate lawns where we "airmen" used to sweat, picking weeds, mowing, and watering, are endless ugly control shacks, telephone shacks, supply rooms.

I went to look for the place where Johnnie had been killed at my side as we ran for cover on December 7. That was the first time I had ever been next to a man when he was killed by gunfire. I thought I would never, never forget it. Now I couldn't even recognize the spot where it happened. I walked down toward the ball diamond and the parking lot, where the men of the North Wing had been slaughtered in their sleeping clothes as they ran from the burning barracks. A schoolroom and a tailor shop covered that massacre ground. All that remained of the Seventh was a lot of old shell and machine-gun scars on the barracks walls.

I went to Honolulu to see what had happened there. I found it was no longer the relaxed, pretty "Paradise of the Pacific" but America's grossest, noisiest, greediest boom town. A two-lane highway used to run through practically open country from Hickam to Honolulu. Today that road is a six-lane highway, bordered all along its eight miles by immense warehouses, housing developments, camps, and airfields.

In downtown Honolulu, devoted not so long ago to such lovely things as siesta hours, the streets are jammed with hurrying people, most of them young and in navy whites. At the Alexander Young, once a leisurely, pleasant-enough hotel, a good place to drop in for a tall cool one, a long line waits patiently to get near the bar. When someone at the bar shows definite signs of getting off his stool, a "traffic cop" claps his hands—once for one free seat, twice for two—and the girl at the other end of the room lets one or two thirsty souls pass the rope. The ration is two drinks a customer. Choice: island imitation gin or island imitation whiskey, concoctions distilled from sugar cane. The bars are open from 2 to 4:30 p.m.

Johnston Island. We landed just in time for an early breakfast on this tiny atoll, so small there is hardly room on it for a full-sized landing strip. It's a navy island, and so the housing and food are good. So are the weather and the swimming and the fishing. But the monotony must be soul-wearing. The place is not a mile square, but it's an all-important stop on our air-supply route across the never-ending Pacific.

Kwajalein Atoll. Coming in for the landing at Kwajalein we all glued our noses to the windows of the plane and gazed out at those grim tiny stretches of coral that had cost us such ghastly high losses. These atolls have no charm. The beaches still are cluttered with the wreckage of battle—smashed enemy pillboxes made of stone two feet thick with slits for the guns, and wrecked landing craft and "ducks." Every square yard of this vital ground must have cost a casualty.

Kwajalein is hot and dirty and dusty. The men stationed here are disgruntled most of the time. It's in the backwash of the war now—a staging base for the refueling of planes crisscrossing the Pacific, taking out fighters, bringing back wounded. Service on any of these atolls for more than a year is in some ways worse than combat.

Saipan. This island is enormous compared to the atolls of Kwajalein and Johnston. It has hills and mountains—and plenty of room to move around and escape your immediate surroundings. The climate is tropical all right, but there is always a steady breeze from the ocean to keep you reasonably cool.

A couple of us sat ranch fashion on the rails outside the passenger terminal and watched the Saipan world go by. Transport planes landed continually, carrying mail, supplies, wounded men. Their arrival and departure aroused little interest in the folks working around. A few miles away on Isley Field we could see B-29's taking off. For an hour they kept on—two at a time from parallel runways. They were off to bomb Japan, a Saipan man told us, and it would be sixteen hours before they got back. "Three thousand miles over an empty ocean, non-stop. Poor bastards. Hope they all get back. But they won't."

A C-54 landed, and suddenly a stream of jeeps, ambulances, trucks, and brass hats rushed out to meet it. A cynic sitting next to us observed that with all that fuss there must be women aboard.

There were. Thirty women piled out. Nurses. Nurses from Manila who had been prisoners of the Japs for three years. I went over to talk to them and found there was nothing I could say. On the whole they look surprisingly well. Since they had been rescued they had had a chance to eat plenty of canned food, to bathe, get into clean clothes, and—boon to women—lay their hands on some make-up, and wash and set their hair. They said these were almost the first things they did. Not having anything to say, I casually offered one of them an apple I had in my field jacket.

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The girl held it in her hands, just looking at it, silently. She called to her friends to look at it. A girl from Oregon began to cry. It had been so long since they'd seen an American apple. Not one of them would bite into it.

Our jeep came and we went sightseeing along a four-lane highway up a long, winding, steep hill to Island Headquarters. From there we could look down and see all the waterfront and the harbor and in the distance huge airfields. Hundreds of merchant ships and scores of warships lay at anchor—loading and unloading supplies. I remembered the early Guadalcanal days when merchant ships carrying our supplies came in swiftly and silently, stealing in at night, one at a time. I remembered those days on the Canal when we had been short of men, short of food, short of planes, short of gasoline. We'd had supplies piled on the beach; here they had rows of enormous warehouses. We'd had a few tents; here were rows of Quonsets.

There was a difference, too, in the spirit of the men fighting out here. They have a harder war to fight than we had—not physically harder, because they are better supplied and are winning—but a much harder war mentally. They curse and gripe about conditions and petty things which we would have considered luxurious. And their bravery is a more lucid, colder bravery than ours. We fought to keep from being killed or captured. The enemy was at our throats, on our backs, above us in the air and around us and under us in the sea. We fought viciously and full of hate. Many of the men out here have never seen a Jap. And the magnificent airmen of the B-29's fly fifteen hundred miles from the peaceful, pleasant Marianas to strike at the Jap from above his horrid, freezing, cruel homeland. And maybe they won't come back. If they could stay on Saipan they would be safe. It's like living in New York and leaving a nice warm house to go out in the rain and cold and walk to Yonkers for a fist fight, and then walk home. I would find that kind of war very difficult.

The Fight Over Jackson Hole

BY IRVING BRANT

FOR the last nineteen years John D. Rockefeller, Jr., has been trying to make a million-dollar gift to the American people. He has not yet succeeded, but he has spent $500,000 just for the privilege of holding the gift in readiness. This is only one incredible incident in the story of the effort to preserve a part of the beautiful and historic Jackson Hole country of northwestern Wyoming for the benefit and pleasure of the nation.

The public received a faint inkling of the campaign being waged against the effort when President Roosevelt last December gave a pocket veto to a bill abolishing the Jackson Hole National Monument. The bill had slipped through Congress on the last day of the session. His veto memorandum cleared up most of the misrepresentations about the matter, but not all of them. The issue is coming up again in the present Congress, where four bills bearing on the subject have been introduced.

Mr. Rockefeller bought 34,000 acres to give to the nation after a visit to Jackson Hole in 1926. He had received pledges of support from local business men, the Governor of Wyoming, and the state's delegation in Congress. When he had spent his million dollars, a joyful community supported bills introduced by Senators Carey and O'Mahoney to make the Rockefeller lands and portions of the adjoining national forest a part of Grand Teton National Park, for whose magnificent mountains it forms a foreground. Congress was about to pass these bills when the Bureau of the Budget objected to a five-year reimbursement of Teton County for the loss of $10,000 a year in taxes on the Rockefeller lands. That blocked action, and opened the way to a propaganda drive which, in accordance with a rule that now seems well established, gained in strength as it became more vicious and preposterous.

The master minds behind the drive were the Jackson Hole office of the Forest Service and a former employee of the office who had become president of the Jackson, Wyoming, bank. Cattlemen's organizations and big game hunters, hostile to the whole national park system, were drawn in. The Teton County government had, of course, a legitimate grievance. As Rockefeller kept on paying taxes through the years, the impression grew that the county had a vested interest in him. There was also a hope that he would get tired of waiting and throw his land on the market, where it would provide pickings for speculators at ten cents on the dollars.

President Roosevelt upset these plans in 1943 by creating by proclamation the Jackson Hole National Monument, comprising 170,308 acres of public lands, 33,795 in the Rockefeller tract, and 16,101 in other private holdings. The private lands were included "subject to all valid exisiting rights," which means that the government has no control over them. They have the same status inside the monument as if they were outside. Secretary Ickes announced that all grazing permits on the lands taken in would be continued through the lifetime of the holders and their immediate families. Nevertheless, a nation-wide propaganda campaign was undertaken for the abolition of the monument. Wyoming settlers were pictured as being dispossessed of their homes by a ruthless bureaucracy. Mr. Rockefeller was accused of trying to unload a white elephant on the public. It was claimed that the President had usurped power by doing what had been done eighty-three times before by various Presidents, most notably by Theodore Roosevelt.

As the result of this false propaganda a bill to abolish the monument, introduced by Representative Barrett (Republican) of Wyoming, was passed by the House of Representatives. In the Senate it was passed as a favor to Senator O'Mahoney (Democrat); everybody knew that it would be killed by a veto. Now, in the new Congress, Chairman Peter-

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son of the House Public Lands Committee has introduced a bill to reimburse Teton County for lost taxes out of the receipts of Yellowstone and Teton parks and the Jackson Hole monument, and to confirm the promised grazing rights. Representative Barrett has introduced three bills: to abolish the monument; to take away the President's power to establish national monuments; and to turn the administration of the lands in the Jackson Hole National Monument over to the Forest Service.

Congress seems unfriendly to the first Barrett bill, and the offering of the last one is hard to explain. The Forest Service in Washington is not a party to it and has ordered the Jackson Hole office to "lay off" the whole fight. When the Jackson Hole employees of the Forest Service obeyed the President's order to turn government lands, buildings, and equipment over to the monument staff, every particle of plumbing and telephone equipment was torn out of the buildings. They did this, it is explained, by mistake; but who asked the Wyoming Congressman to offer a bill which would have virtually no effect except to block the move to reimburse Teton County for tax losses out of national-park and national-monument receipts?

Barrett's move seems to indicate that he, or his banker adviser, the former Forest Service employee, has lost his head. It would be shrewder politics, and far sounder policy, to get behind the Peterson bill while Congress, the President, and the Bureau of the Budget are sympathetic to the idea of helping Teton County. There is an old saying: "Time to take cake is when cake's passing."

The bill to repeal the President's power to establish national monuments reflects the cattle industry's hostility to land conservation for public use and enjoyment. Even a politically hostile federal judge in Wyoming—a former secretary to an old-time Republican Senator, the late Francis Warren—recently upheld the President's action when it was subjected to a court test. His opinion was full of malice and sound law.

The Antiquities Act of 1906, which was passed to assure the preservation of aboriginal ruins, authorizes the President to proclaim these and "other objects of historic and scientific interest" to be national monuments. It is argued that the act was intended to cover only small objects, since it provides that the area set aside shall be the smallest compatible with the care and preservation of the objects to be preserved.

Theodore Roosevelt, however, who signed the Antiquities Act, used it to establish the Mt. Olympus and Grand Canyon national monuments, each of more than 600,000 acres. President Hoover set up one of more than 2,000,000 acres. Congressman Lacey of Iowa, author of the Antiquities Act, described it as "my bill for the preservation of aboriginal ruins and places of scenic and scientific interest upon the public domain, under which the Petrified Forest, the Olympic Elk Range Reserve, and about 200 places of ethnological interest have been designated as 'monuments' and preserved to the public." Thus the man who wrote the provision about the size of national monuments approved one three times as large as Jackson Hole. The fact is that the words "objects of historic and scientific interest," and the power given to the President to proclaim national monuments, were not in the original antiquities bill at all, but were taken over from a bill sponsored by Lacey in 1904 for the establishment of national parks by proclamation.

The Antiquities Act has proved to be one of the wisest and most useful conservation laws ever passed, and all Americans who cherish the wonder spots of nature should join in protecting it from emasculation or repeal.

In the Wind

J. H. McLAURIN, president of the United States Wholesale Grocers' Association, has sent a letter to all members of the association urging them to "align" their Congressmen against H. R. 2232 and S. 101, which would authorize establishment of a permanent FEPC.

THE CONNECTICUT ECONOMIC COUNCIL devoted its Fortnightly Letter for June 18 to an article entitled Why 60,000,000 Jobs? It consisted of a long quotation from Samuel B. Pettengill to the effect that full employment could be achieved only by abolishing the machine age, followed by the council's own conclusions, to wit: "The blind (or selfish) politicians and reformers are misleading the blind by failing to recognize that we are not going to have 60,000,000 jobs available in the decade immediately following the end of the war. . . . What will be the number of those who are able and willing to work and for whom no jobs are immediately available no one can figure exactly. It may reasonably run to five or six million persons. . . . Americans, because of our war record, have come to believe in the impossible."

THE ALABAMA TEMPERANCE ALLIANCE has published a list of Jews, Greeks, and Italians who have liquor licenses in Birmingham, with this comment: "The iniquitous business in which these foreign elements so congenially engage is not excused by the fact that some of these licensees were born in America, or that some of them have sons in our armed services. The liquor and beer trades are inherently foreign to America; . . . they are destructive of everything that is fine and clean and wholesome in Alabama's culture. . . . The liquor traffic . . . makes its attacks upon the most valuable assets we have—human values."

DR. OTTO KOECHER, former Nazi consul general in Barcelona, has taken a villa on the Swiss side of Lake Geneva.

J. H. HOFMEYR, South African Minister of Education, has been rebuked by the National Union of South African Students for proposing separate universities for students of different color.

LEGISLATIVE MEMO: H. R. 1925, which would forbid racial discrimination on interstate common carriers, is in the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, headed by Clarence F. Lea of California.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. We will pay $1 for each item accepted*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

THE MYSTIC EXPERIENCE

BY LOUISE BOGAN

MYSTICISM transcends dogma; and mystics, however orthodox their basic "faith" may be, undergo experiences based squarely on personal, human emotion. There is, therefore, a good deal of non-conformity about them; and in periods when organized religion has become thoroughly institutionalized, we hear very little concerning mysticism or the mystics. The Catholic church has recently shown signs of attempting to soften the institutional rigidity which for a long time has characterized its course. "The Soul Afire: Revelations of the Mystics," edited by H. A. Reinhold (Pantheon, $3.50), is dedicated to Jacques Maritain, and includes excerpts from the Old Testament (Westminster Version) and from Plato, as well as from the Church Fathers, St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas. It places George Herbert and John Donne beside Gerard Hopkins, St. Teresa of Avila, and St. John of the Cross.

Father Reinhold, writing within a *nihil obstat,* in his preface makes an intelligent distinction between true mysticism and that "spiritualism and theosophy" which often gets mixed up with it in modern minds. He knows the charge of hysteria that can be brought against mystic experience by modern psychology; and he understands the difference between mystic experience and that experience of diffuse pantheism so frequently mistaken for the genuine mystic article. "The aim and content of Christian mysticism is not self or nature, but God." Mystics do not wish to wrench God to their own selfish uses, as do workers in "the occult"; nor do they wish to sink themselves romantically into nature. And the charge of a pathological state can be countered by the fact that mysticism can be known by its fruits, and those fruits are far from "pathological." Mystics have shown themselves to be marvels of practical "efficiency." William James called St. Ignatius "one of the most powerfully practical human engines that ever lived," and the two St. Catherines, as well as St. Teresa, were certainly tireless planners, able administrators, and sensible and firm heads of organizations.

The editor's purpose is to show the mystics' development through certain graded stages. We are not thrown immediately into the white light of complete mystical ecstasy, but are judiciously led through varied experiences of these men and women. The selections are rather long and of course closely resemble one another. And in spite of the inclusion of "moderns," the old-fashioned orthodox stiffness of tone continues to prevail. It seems likely that this stiffness will prevail in books of this nature so long as men like Santayana and poets like Blake, Rimbaud, Baudelaire, Rilke, and T. S. Eliot are excluded, for one reason or another. The great triumphs of the spirit here described correspond exactly to that integration of the personality sometimes brought about by modern therapy. The experience of certain poets corresponds exactly to the vision of the saints. So it does little good to bring into notice the childish, pietistic medieval ramblings of, say, Mechtild of Magdeburg, while leaving out the obvious likeness between T. S. Eliot, in his later phase, and St. John of the Cross.

The reader who is somewhat baffled by the book as a whole can go to the modern works on mysticism—by Evelyn Underhill, von Hügel, and others—generously mentioned by the editor in his introduction. "That shallow rationalism which regards the data on which we can reason as a fixed quantity known to all, and which bases itself on formal logic, utterly unsuited to a spiritual view of things"—it is this mode of thought which has marked the modern mind in a rather barren way. An understanding of what mysticism is, not only its claims, but what it has actually accomplished "toward rendering life more spacious and abundant"; a realization of "that staunchless compassion for all life which the mystic has always realized as a direct intuition of his eternal unity with all being"—such understanding and realization are refreshing to come upon, when modern man is weary of working with that heavy tool, the will alone.

City Planning

NEW ARCHITECTURE AND CITY PLANNING. A Symposium. Edited by Paul Zucker. Philosophical Library. $10.

CITY DEVELOPMENT. Studies in Disintegration and Renewal. By Lewis Mumford. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.

WHEN DEMOCRACY BUILDS. By Frank Lloyd Wright. University of Chicago Press. $4.

EUROPE has to rebuild its destroyed cities: a tragic and magnificent chance. Ours is a more confusing task: in the hour of triumph, to confess failure. Great are our achievements, and they have saved the world; yet the men who "made this country what it is" were neither generous nor wise. Our cities suffer, not from devastation, but from blight; and the blight, unchecked, would rot our civilization. City planning is our next campaign in the unending global war.

By city planning we no longer mean real-estate development, utilities, or even "the City Beautiful." City planning is more than business, engineering, sanitation, architecture, and administration; it is a synthesis of all human activities, spiritual as well as material.

Frank Lloyd Wright and Lewis Mumford have long been fighting that great crusade. But they are not alone. "New Architecture and City Planning," a symposium with some sixty contributors, treats of limited technical subjects—such as the use of plywood, plastics, and glass, and the future of ocean liners (if they have any); but it deals also with "the sociological basis of city and regional planning." The work is well conceived and adequately executed. It did not shake my distrust of the symposium method. The contributions—

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and some of them are extremely able—are too short for thorough treatment. On the few subjects in which I could claim first-hand knowledge they left me unsatisfied. The editor did his work well: a good introduction, a good division of labor; yet he could not turn this mass of monographs into an organic whole.

Lewis Mumford's book, "City Development" (he piously borrowed the title from his master Patrick Geddes), is frankly a minor work, but nothing that Mumford writes is negligible. For those who are not familiar with his great trilogy this will be a convenient introduction; for those who have read "The Culture of Cities" this provides important illustrations and footnotes. Mumford is a prophet and a poet who does not spurn definite, practical problems. I particularly appreciated his report on Honolulu, and his discussion of the plan for the rebuilding of London, prepared by Abercrombie and Forshaw.

In "When Democracy Builds" Frank Lloyd Wright offers us in fuller detail the Utopia he had already sketched in "The Disappearing City." He has two *bêtes noires*—the "continuance" or cultural lag, and Megalopolis. I read him with intense sympathy; yet I found him impassioned rather than convincing. Deliberate archaism of course is deadly, but "continuance" is not invariably an evil. If tradition is a dead weight, momentum may be a help. Frank Lloyd Wright's book would have been far less effective if he had not used the "continuance" of the English language. A ritual rooted in history loses much of its power in a Le Corbusier setting.

I too feel the oppressiveness and squalor of the Giant City. There is no gain in jamming ten million people on a few hundred square miles. But there is also in Megalopolis—and Mumford is poet enough to feel it—a fascination of power, variety, adventure, hard to match in Amenia or Taliesin. Let us compromise on a few cities of a million souls or maybe two, with garden suburbs.

The ideal common to Mumford and Wright raises a series of problems which remain unsolved. Granted that modern technique—radio, television—will break down the deadening isolation of the village; still, civilization in the past has been entirely the work of the city, and without the dynamism of Megalopolis the model rural community might lose its momentum. Jefferson's agrarian ideal had London and Paris as a cultural background. Left to its own devices, it might relapse into the engaging primitiveness of the mountain whites, or into bovine contentment.

I like Utopia; it is on that enchanted ground I first met Mumford. But I am not interested in the distant goal; heaven is my destination, and that is enough. My concern is with the way, the next step, the immediate program. Both Mumford and Wright appear to me in a halo, that is to say, in a golden haze. The city cannot be radically reformed under the profit system—unless the profiteer took such a long view that he would cease to be our orthodox profiteer. Land values breed slums, and slums destroy land values; but there is a great deal of money to be made before that term is reached. The New City will have to be a community, a commonwealth. Now Wright dreams of enlightened, social-minded small proprietors, and that seems to me a contradiction in terms. We must have at the same time much more decentralization and much more integration. For his fullest development the individual needs the pooling of efforts—collectivism. Isolated, uncooperative ruggedness is as inert as a boulder. Our civilization demands nervous centers; to have a Lewis Mumford or a Frank Lloyd Wright, we must first have a New York or a Chicago. I like *some* of Wright's houses, and I applaud his Carlylean denunciations, and I enjoy his Isaiah-like visions; but his doctrine seems to me a corrective rather than an incentive.

ALBERT GUÉRARD

BRIEFER COMMENT

Life of Wilson

H. C. F. BELL'S "Woodrow Wilson and the People" (Doubleday, Doran, $3) is easily the best of the single-volume biographies of Wilson. Bell has written an effective synthesis of much of the information made available in slower-paced studies, such as Notter's account of Wilson's foreign policy, Diamond's treatment of his economic thought, and Ray Stannard Baker's plodding, multi-volumed over-all view. Although the material is not unfamiliar, the book will interest the general reader; at the same time it is sufficiently scholarly and well-proportioned to be inoffensive to the specialist.

Considering the title, Bell might well have treated at greater length Wilson's changing conception of the people. The "flashbacks" used in telling of Wilson's pre-Princeton days are only partially successful in revealing his early veneration of Saxon institutions and the "English race" and his distrust of non-Germanic peoples. By 1895 Wilson, in the pattern of Turner's celebrated frontier hypothesis, was singing the praises of that mythical entity the Midwestern melting-pot, in which the peoples of Northern and Western Europe were allegedly successfully mixed. But seven years later, as his "History" reveals, Wilson was far from being favorably disposed toward immigrant peoples from Southern and Eastern Europe.

When political opportunity beckoned, Wilson swung rather abruptly toward liberal opinions regarding the government of colonial peoples, social reform, and the "new immigrant" stocks. He explained away passages in his earlier writings which Americans of Hungarian and Italian ancestry found objectionable. As President, he vetoed immigration legislation restricting the influx of Southern and Eastern Europeans. And in appealing to the people on the issue of the League, he upheld "composite America" as an example to the warring Europeans.

Omitting much of this, Bell does reveal the hostility of German and Irish hyphenates toward Wilson, whose Americanism could not abide ethnic politicians demanding favors. Wilson referred them to the principles he had enunciated for the betterment of all rather than part of mankind. They, however, were blind or else would not see and wielded a deadly political knife. The peoples, precisely because the melting-pot had not worked as well as he believed, wanted specific concessions; Wilson, alas, talked universals as if to a united nation. Bell might well have discussed to what extent the Wilsonian conception of the people contributed to his ultimate political defeat.

EDWARD N. SAVETH

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The Tragedy of Man

IN "THE ANNIHILATION OF MAN" (Harcourt, Brace, $2.50) Leslie Paul attempts what one may call a philosophical and spiritual analysis of the present world tragedy. Rejecting the Marxian explanation of Nazism, he declares it to be what its founder said it was, a reaction against the confusion and materialism of liberal capitalism and a protest against communism. To this Mr. Paul adds that it was a philosophy of nihilism protesting against spiritual annihilation.

The reviewer, who himself is dissatisfied with the Marxist theory of fascism, will not deny that there is much that is forceful and suggestive in this part of the book. However, together with now classical criticisms of pre-war politics, it serves as starting-point for a series of rapid and on the whole unsatisfactory analyses of recent and contemporary attitudes toward life. This section can be considered to reach its main point in Chapter 9, which gives its title to the book. It briefly examines and rejects the philosophy of the economic man, the Darwinian man, the Freudian man, and the like. The criticisms offered hardly satisfy very rigorous demands of understanding and scholarship. A symmetrical objection is that all this facile dismissing is done in support of a conception of Christianity which seems to be devoid of theology and uncommitted to programs and form. Parsimonious as he is, however, the author's thought about religion is on the whole correctly centered. Religion is necessary, not so much to encourage man in the presence of a terrible universe as to enable him to control or dissolve his aggressions. There is little argument which might incline one to put much trust in the solution. I suggest that the book is worth reading, not for its particular contribution, but because it presents an argument that will probably serve as the basis for a great many fashionable books before long. RALPH BATES

How Shall We Treat Japan?

ALTHOUGH THE SUZUKI GOVERNMENT'S military position grows more difficult from day to day, official American thinking on how to handle a defeated Japan shows no evidence of progress. Dominant State Department circles seem bent on post-war cooperation with so-called moderate elements among Japan's present rulers, including the imperial court and its institution of a divinely descended emperor. That this approach failed tragically in the period of appeasement before Pearl Harbor is apparently not deterring those who wish to try it again.

Under these circumstances "The Future of Japan" by William C. Johnstone (Oxford, $2) will prove especially timely as a pointed, brief discussion of the main issues facing us in Japan and the principles that should govern our treatment of it. Professor Johnstone is concerned not only with the technical aspects of our policy—occupation, disarmament, demobilization, reparations, and economic controls—but also with the problem of changing Japan's social, political, and economic structure. He shows the necessity of ending the rule of the Imperial Throne and breaking the strangle-hold of such economic overlords as the Mitsui and Mitsubishi interests on national life. Most significantly, he emphasizes the danger of defining Japanese militarism in narrow terms, since Tokyo's aggression "embraces a whole system of boss rule, in which the industrial monopolists, bureaucrats, politicians, and the nobility have combined with the militarists in pursuit of aggression abroad and totalitarianism at home."

The facts and point of view presented in this book will help those who are interested in developing a sound American policy toward Japan—a policy based on the determination to root out the basic conditions making for Japanese aggression, and not simply on the desire for a conservative stability in Tokyo after the defeat of the Japanese armed forces. LAWRENCE K. ROSINGER

Dramas in Translation

WHILE THE COMMERCIAL HOUSES are making books out of every *faux pas* on Broadway, it is good that the university presses should remember that there is also drama. "Scandinavian Plays of the Twentieth Century," First and Second Series (Princeton, $2 and $3 respectively), and "Seven Plays of Maxim Gorky" (Yale, $3.75) are welcome additions to our dramatic library. And it is to be hoped that they will attract the attention of such little-theater groups as may still be interested in culture as well as in commodity.

The two volumes of Scandinavian plays, if we are to believe the informative introduction of Alrik Gustafson, provide a cross-section of the best Scandinavian drama since about 1910. One is glad to know about these plays; there is good stuff in them. Yet they are disappointing, for they are inferior not only, as Mr. Gustafson says, to the best in earlier Scandinavian drama but also to the best drama of the period in other countries, including America. One is glad to know a little about a Nordahl Grieg, a Kai Munk, a Pär Lagerkvist, but a little is enough, and one is content not to make the acquaintance of the many Scandinavian authors for whom their countrymen wish universal acclaim. Godspeed, however, to Mr. Gustafson's next project, which is the reintroduction to the United States public of the only great Scandinavian dramatist since Ibsen—August Strindberg.

Maxim Gorky needs, as they say, no introduction. If the best plays in the new volume, "The Lower Depths" and "Yegor Bulychov," are already known to us in earlier translations, and if the editorial comments of the present translator, Alexander Bakshy, are a little dry and external, it is nevertheless pleasant to have Gorky back in the news. Not

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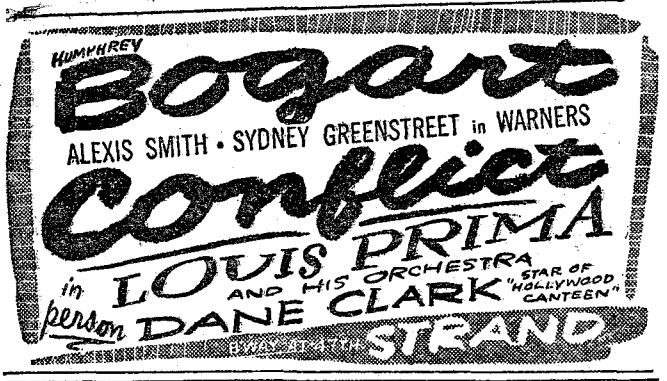

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that he ever quite lives up to the reputation of sage and prophet that has been built up for him. It is pleasing to read a Gorky play, as it is pleasing to see a Continental movie, because we enjoy the sheer absence of Broadway and Hollywood slickness. But absence is a rather negative asset. Continental movies can be dull, and so can Gorky. Judging by these plays I would say that if he is a Galsworthy plus, he is a Gogol minus. At present most of these plays seem to me excessively literal and earnest, even a little gauche. Naturalism is successful, I think, only when it is combined with non-naturalistic elements—as it is in Gorky at his best. At a first reading of the newly translated plays I do not hear the "mystic" overtone which gives grandeur to "The Lower Depths." Perhaps one needs time to feel one's way into such plays. Perhaps one should be assisted by further readings or by a production. Perhaps, on the other hand, the overtone and the irony are just not there.

ERIC RUSSELL BENTLEY

On Place Names

ONE CAN NEVER TELL what George R. Stewart is going to write about next, but one can always be certain it will make lively reading. Professor Stewart, who teaches English at the University of California, has been a resident fellow in creative writing at Princeton, and while East he wrote "Names on the Land" (Random House, $3), which is a historical account of place-naming in the United States. Mr. Stewart, who is author of the best piece about the weather since "Snow Bound," the novel called "Storm," has written here a sort of informal history of America around his central theme, and the result is highly readable.

If anyone thinks the origins of our place names is not a controversial subject, let him visit the little island of Martha's Vineyard off Cape Cod, where this reviewer lives. For three hundred years a hot battle has waged over where this island got its name. Mr. Stewart's ingenious theory that it may have originated from a joke among the crew of the Concord, Bartholomew Gosnold's ship which first anchored off the island in 1602, will never go down with our people. If there is to be any joking about names let Nantucket, not the Vineyard, be the butt.

Incidentally I was delighted to find that Mr. Stewart had included Bug Tussel in southern Illinois in his book. It was from this mining town that the minister armed with a squirrel rifle went forth to do battle for the Lord against the scab-herding gunmen at Herrin.

Don't take Mr. Stewart's book in one full draft. Sip it now and then for its full, rich flavor.

MCALISTER COLEMAN

Not Funny

"UP FRONT" (Holt, $3), with text and cartoons by Bill Mauldin, is a sort of comic strip dedicated to the proposition that the war is funny. The cartoons are not funny, and the text is characteristically illiterate. "I came back to Rome so I could send the book off and finish the sixteen drawings. I read the thing over before I took a bath, and darned if I didn't like it pretty well even though it may be full of bad grammar." He has bad taste too.

JOHN SENIOR

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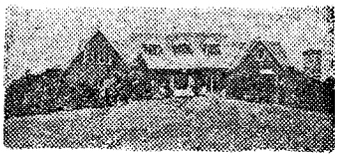

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Music

B. H. HAGGIN

THERE was a point at which I stopped going to hear pianists play the piano, or violinists the violin, and went only to hear them play music. Which is to say that I stopped going to the recitals of most of the celebrated instrumentalists who have impressed a "great American public" not equipped to distinguish between mastery of an instrument and insight into music or to understand any such distinction; and I attended the recitals of the few who concerned themselves with the music I was interested in and who performed it with understanding—people like Schnabel, Gieseking, Aitken, Szigeti, Milstein, Feuermann, Landowska.

One of the instrumentalists I stopped going to hear was Horowitz, whose prodigious mastery of the piano was not enough to keep me from being bored beyond endurance by the musical limitations that were evident in the program and performances of the last recital I attended years ago—since which time I have heard him only when he has filled in the piano parts in performances of concertos by Toscanini, and most recently at the Russian Consulate première of Prokofiev's latest sonata, whose motor rhythms and ostinato crescendos called for precisely the overpowering virtuosity Horowitz was able to bring to bear on them. In the matter of the music he plays, Horowitz told an interviewer a few years ago that he had found himself unable to understand the late sonatas of Beethoven and therefore did not play them. I admired him for his unusual honesty and humility; but I had no interest in the programs of the music that he did understand—programs in which the high point was an opening group of, say, a few Scarlatti sonatas and a bit of early Beethoven; after which there was a descent to the cheapest kind of display pieces. Nor did I care to hear him play even the few consequential works of those programs; for what does not call for technical brilliance Horowitz plays with sentimental and arch distentions and inflections of phrase.

Hence my lack of interest in Victor's June "Vladimir Horowitz Program" (Set 1001; $3.50)—in either the music or the performances of Saint-Saëns's "Danse macabre," Tchaikovsky's "Dumka," and Czerney's Variations on the aria "La Ricordanza." The reproduction of the performances is magnificently lifelike in timbre, sonority, and spaciousness; but my copy of the set is noisy.

The other piano virtuoso who packs them in nowadays, Artur Rubinstein, I have found more interesting and enjoyable to listen to—on some occasions. I do not agree that the traditional mannered style of playing Chopin is the right style; but Rubinstein's verve and grace make his recorded performances of Chopin's E minor Concerto, the Polonaises, the Mazurkas in that style superb. The trouble begins when he plays Beethoven's Sonata Opus 81a ("Les Adieux"), and it comes out with sensitive, Chopinesque contours and inflections. Or—as I discovered recently when I listened to the recording after a long interval—when he plays Mozart's Concerto K. 488, and its melodies come out sentimentalized by the same mannered style, while passagework is something to speed up brilliantly.

That is the trouble with his Victor album of Debussy's piano music (Set 998; $3.50). The pieces are "Reflets dans l'eau" and "Hommage à Rameau" from the first set of "Images"; "Poissons d'or" from the second set; "Soirée dans Grénade" and "Jardins sous la pluie" from "Estampes"; and the waltz "La Plus que lente." The last of these is early and inconsequential; the others are some of Debussy's maturest and finest works. Rubinstein plays them in an elegant, mannered style suitable for nineteenth-century salon pieces—which is not the way to achieve the gravity of "Hommage à Rameau" or the sharply flashing imagery of "Poissons d'or." Nor are the rubatos of Rubinstein's Chopin performances suitable for "Reflets dans l'eau," or even for "Soirée dans Grénade," in which moreover he alters the written rhythm a number of times, blurs the execution of some details, and plays a wrong chord at one point. The performances are reproduced with fidelity to timbre; but the treble is weak, and a limitation seems to have been imposed on the recording that keeps the climaxes from achieving their correct volume of sound. And my copy of the set is noisy.

CONTRIBUTORS

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The Crossword Puzzle will appear next week.

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